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ABSTRACT

This paper explores some of the intellectual forces and themes connected to the emergence of the child study movement as a focus of scientific interest and research. This analysis is followed by a look at some institutional and social developments, which, it has been suggested, created needs and demands for the systematic study of children. Finally, there is an examination of the history of the movement itself: its chronology, methods and foci of study, some key figures associated with it, and its relationship to and reception by popular and academic audiences. The paper is divided into five sections: (1) early romantic theories of education and studies of development; (2) a note on nonromantic ideological strains in American psychology and education; (3) the influences of Darwinism; (4) social and institutional connections and influences; and (5) the child study movement, covering its major theoreticians, ideas, journals, goals and decline. A seven-page list of project research papers concludes the document. (IS)

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The Birth of the Child Study Movement in the U.S.: Some Ideological, Social and Institutional Influences

Suzanne Kirschner

June 1983

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The Child Study Movement is generally considered to have been the first self-consciously systematic attempt to study the development of children in a "scientific" manner. Sometimes its date of birth is given as about 1883, since this is when G. Stanley Hall's study of "The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School" was published. Perhaps more frequently it is considered to have "officially" started in 1891, when Hall, newly President of Clark University, founded his journal, The Pedagogical Seminary, one of several child study journals which commenced publication during that decade.

Sheldon White says that

> There was a time when educators, physicians and social workers gathered knowledge about children informally and in connection with the pursuit of other interests. Then, in the 1890s, career lines, societies, journals and other social resources began to be dedicated to the kind of study that had once been done informally and incidentally.[1]

Of course, the movement can also be seen as having its roots not just in these social and institutional activities but also in the intellectual and ideological currents which had been developing and gathering strength over the course of the nineteenth century (and which had contributed to the emergence of the above-noted professions and institutions as well). Many of the influences and concerns which helped to create the Child Study Movement and to which it addressed itself, moreover, continue to shape and inform our study of child development to the present day.

This paper is (1) an attempt to explore some of the intellectual forces and themes connected to the emergence of the idea and practice of Child Study as a focus of scientific interest and research. This will be followed by (2) a look at some institutional and social developments which, it has been suggested, created needs and demands for this type of systematic study. Finally, there will be (3) an examination of the history of the Movement itself -- its chronology, methods and foci of study, some key figures

associated with it, and its relationship to/reception by popular and academic audiences.

The paper is divided into five sections:

1. Early romantic theories of education and studies of development
2. A note on non-romantic ideological strains in American psychology/education
3. The influence of Darwinism(s)
4. Social and institutional connections and influences
5. The Child Study Movement

(Perhaps it is unnecessary to state that these are all huge topics and that the treatment of them in this paper must necesarily be simplified, general and brief)

1. Romantic theories of education and studies of development

In her biography of G. Stanley Hall, Ross cites "the influence of European romantic educators from Rousseau to Pestalozzi to Froebel" as "essential in drawing the attention of American pedagogs to the peculiar nature of the child and the value of his native impulses."[2] Ross refers here to early romantic theorists and/or child-observers such as:

(Note: They all seem to have been Swiss or German)

1) Rousseau -- he has been discussed in previous papers; here are some comments on his theory of "development":

> He believed that children, uninhibited by adult rules and mores, would develop into perfect adults who would organize socially through the formation of social contracts. The emphasis was not so much on development, certainly not sequential development, as it was on the rights of children to develop their innate goodness without the restrictions of the adult world. The personality was seen as the result of the unfolding of pre-determined and innate characteristics[3]

2) Johann Heinrick Pestalozzi (1746-1827) "stressed the importance of childhood as a separate learning phase."[4]. This celebrated educational theorist, influenced by Kant and Rousseau, "kept for a period a diary in which he recorded his attempts at the education of his four-year-old son and made some record of his son's behavior." This diary, written in 1774, was published in 1828.[5]

3) Frederick Froebel (1782-1852), "through personal observation of young children noted their spontaneous, self-sustaining nature, and saw play as the critical vehicle to develop their imaginations and spiritual feelings. He was stressing development within the age-span of preschool rather than development over time. But the concept of development was apparent, including special play materials to foster such development."[6]

4) Dietrick Tiedemann 's "account of the behavioral development of his son was the first infant biography to be published. It appeared in 1787."[7] Tiedemann "traced the sensory motor and language development of the

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first 2 1/2 years of an infant's life".[8] (Tiedemann, a German philosopher of history, is considered to have been the first individual to have recorded empirical observations of his child's early developement.)

American educational practice had traditionally been characterized by a "prevailing moralism" in the service of its "ultimate goal of character building"[9] but the European romantic view of the above-noted theorists "had by the early 1880s...begun to attain some momentum among educators"[10] and to be assimilated into the earlier, more indiginous attitudes and practices of American education. Some educators had become acquainted with these beliefs and methods while studying in Europe. In any case,

> new methods of pedegogy were being imported from Europe and slowly being put into practice. The notion of there being disciplinary value in the very unpleasantness and dullness of instruction was giving way to the realization that the teacher must appeal to the natural interests and curiosity of the child. Grounded in Pestalozzi's theory that the child learned from the perception of natural objects rather than from ill-understood words, the 'object-method' was already widely hailed. The teaching of drawing, justified on the same grounds, was entering the curriculum. So, too, were physical education and a heightened interest in the pupil's health, both part of Pestalozzi's and Froebel's concern for the education of the whole child, a concern which found fertile soil in the unhealthful, overcrowded condiions in most urban American schools. Froebel's kindergarten was introduced during the 1870s and was quickly gaining adherents [especially among certain groups of upper-middle class women].[11]

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2. A note on non-romantic ideological strains in American psychology/education

Thus far in these papers on ideologies of the child, heavy emphasis has been placed on Rousseau, for it appears that the influence of his romantic conception of childhood is critical in understanding how the European sentimentalized child came into being and interacted with various social conditions during the 19th century. As was noted in the paper on France, however, the Rousseauean conception of the nature and proper education of the child was by no means the sole or even dominant conception during the 19th century. The originally-sinful Christian child, and the Lockean infant who began life with a clean slate, were both very much alive in the attitudes and practices of parents and educators in America, England and France.

This note is included at this point because in considering the Child Study Movement as part of the development of child psychology in general, this writer would be remiss not to highlight the empiricist strain in American folk philosophy and psychology. Robert Sears is not merely speaking from his own ideological vantage point when he points out that

> John Locke and his successors in British associationsim laid the groundwork for what can be seen in the last two centuries in America as a strong prepossession with the empiricist view.... [12]

> Inherent in American folk philosophy was a belief in the controllability of human events, and one corollary of this, as it had been for Locke (1690), was a belief in the experiential determination of character and conduct. Man was what the environment made him....It was inev itable, therefore, that behavior and the learning process would ultimately be incorporated as a part of American developmental psychology.[13]

Although romanticist and nativist strains are espeically strong in the theories of G. Stanley Hall, leading figure of the Child Study Movement, there remained, even in his work, a certain emphasis on the importance of the environment as well ("The long period of dependency and teachableness

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in human development Hall, like Spencer, saw as a sign of nature's intentions"[14]) in the building of character and intelligence.

This is important to stress because it would not be accurate to give the impression that a purely romantic or sentimentalized view of child nature and education characterized either the Child Study Movement or developmental psychology in general (in any of its paradigmatic incarnations -- organismic, social learning, psychoanalytic).

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The Darwinian Revolution(s)

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Darwin's theory of evolution had a profound impact on the self-image of man and exacerbated the felt need to reconstitute a basis for morality and moral development along naturalistic lines. With the emergence of a naturalistic-evolutionary cosmology (in combination, of course, with a variety of other already-developing social and intellectual conditions), there was strong motivation to seek a new ground on which to construct a scientific theory of human nature and nurture. And certainly, in any such naturalistic framework, it would seem to make sense that the place of child development would be very prominent -- since if we can know how to properly facilitate the development of the growing child, we can ensure the moral integrity and continuing development of civilization as well.

Bernard Wishy points out that in fact "there was intrinsically no connection...between the facts of biological evolution and priority for any specific morality for man or child."[15] What this meant was that Darwinism could be, and was, evoked to support a wide variety of contradictory social philosophies, from the most individualistic laissez-faire doctrines prominent during the Gilded Age in America, to the emphasis on social solidarity and social welfare which became the dominant social doctrine in the U.S. after 1890 and through the Progressive Era.[15a]

Wishy notes that this latter, more "optimistic," socially-oriented assimilation of Darwinism was evident in child-nurture literature in America as early as the 1870s:

> By 1860, many nurture writers had already come close to accepting the notion that at birth the child offered nearly limitless possibilities for moral and intellectual growth, but this assumption did not necessarily imply accepting a full naturalistic account of human development.... Darwinism forced the issue. If everything about life could be explained without referring to any entity or essence beyond or above nature, then what could be said about the child's possibilities?
>
> It is understandable how difficult it was to face fully and honestly the import of evolutionary naturalism that

> there was no permanent, transcendent "essence of man," that life in all respects was in ceaseless change, that morals has no sanction beyond their usefulness for a particular people, and that the fate of even mankind's best ideals was always in doubt.
>
> Nevertheless, most experts on the child, as this revolution in philosophic and cultural mood moved on, were not pessimistic, nor were many converted to moral relativism. Instead, the new major evolutionary premises about the child were accepted...in meliorist melanges of science and faith that passed themselves off successfully as Christianity. [16]

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And in the realm of more sophisticated social theory, the idea of "development" (in Comte, Marx, Spencer et al.) -- of progressive evolution toward the more complex, organized, and ethically and intellectually "high" and "good" -- was becoming joined to the idea of biological evolution (which, in itself, does not necessarily imply such a notion of unilateral progress as is claimed in stage theories of social and psychological development). Sheldon White sees this joining of "development" to "evolution" -- as evidenced, he says, in early psychological theories such as that of James Mark Baldwin (who was not directly part of the Child Study Movement but is now seen as an important precursor to Piaget) -- as an expression of this larger quest for a naturalist basis for ethics and an "idea of the good." [17]

The point here is that in both "popular" and "intellectual" arenas (and the Child Study Movement represented an intersection of the two) Darwinism seems to have been a significant stimulus to look to the development of the individual (child) as an important source of information and action which might lead to social betterment.

Finally, "the great debates over evolution" were a contributing factor in the growing enthusiasm among "educated laymen" for scientific methods, and "expertise," as means for finding solutions to pressing social problems:

> After the 1870s...the study of the child came under professional scrutiny and control. Academic and scientific

students of child behavior reached out to the general public through their own books and articles and popular writers...(and) showed remarkable alertness to the usefulness of physiology, neurology and physics in understanding the child.

...increasingly, educated laymen were striving for the best scientific ideas. For the public at large, with the spread of literacy and publishing and the force of ideologies our own familiar version of modernity was dawning; everything in life was becoming a 'subject' or a 'problem.' The public also sensed the power and prestige to be gained from a more cultivated intellectual awareness, as evidenced by the life and work of leading contemporary scientists. It found most evidence of the potentialities of scientific ideas in their advances in controlling diesase and death. Were there not, given such indication, definitive 'solutions' and answers at last in sight about the child? [18]

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4. Social and Institutional Influences and Trends

As was discussed in Section Three of the paper on America ("Post-Civil War and the Progressive Era"), the final two decades of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of a growing awareness and concern on the part of the public about the consequences of immigration and urbanization. This helped to promote the growth of movements, laws and professions designed to manage and control these perceived threats to American middle-class values and safety, via socialization of the child at the school and community levels.

The Child-Saving and Social Justice Movements (and the profession of social work which was an "offspring" of these Movements), as well as the creation of the Juvenile Justice system, all bespoke a new view of the child, one in which s/he was seen as potentially "save-able" via professional attention and expertise, as having the capacity -- if "gotten to" early enough -- to be transformed into a responsible and socially-useful citizen:

> The new knowledge and awareness of the child's possibilities...applied as much to the ruffian as to the little gentleman. Citizens and social workers whould 'study the tastes and talents of the boys and use them in reaching him.'
>
> Judge Ben Lindsay of Denver was one of the leading American proponents of the new juvenile courts for handling the special needs of young offenders....
> Lindsay wrote the introduction to Lilburn Merrill's Winning the Boy (1908), in which Merrill...pleaded for those 'dirty kids' whom people call brats, for lighting the spark of essential goodness in the child. His inversion of the old tradition of intense Puritan concern with the world's ways was striking. The essentially good child, or the child corrupted by a harsh world, was to be converted or restored to his true innocent nature by the work of a dedicated group of 'ministers' who followed the 'calling' of social work. Through their labor the public would soon see '....the kingdom of heaven is not far from the common kid.'
>
> As substitute parents, the social workers were to save the slum child from the 'degeneracy,' ignorance, poverty, and foreign habits of the un-American home. By a new expertise in the old home and by finding alternatives to the slum and immigrant home, the way would open again

> for the triumph of individualism and 'character' in a world where they no longer seemed to matter. The world in the home would be made fit for the child so that the child need not fear to take on the world or the world fear nim. [19]

Another area of institutionalization and professionalization which created needs and demands for systematic inquiry about children was the school -- "the mushrooming growth of education." First of all, "the administration of enlarging school systems became complex and demanding.... First normal schools and then colleges of education within universities were established from the 1880s onward to provide special training. Education, like all large industries, began to generate its own flood of paper and 'child accounting.'" White quotes Tyack about the creation of new activities, new jobs such as "school census takers, truant officers, statisticians, and school workers." [20]

White also notes that "more hierarchical management of education" (and, one might add, larger and more heterogeneous classroom populations) "called for a kind of child study leading to quantitative indices of school performance." Earlier studies in the U.S. and England (begun in the 1870s) had sought to correlate intelligence with physical characteristics (Boas being an early critic of such research); these gave way to an interest in developing standardized tests of achievement and ability: "Since children were now being required to receive schooling, tests were needed that would serve as aids and justifications in the tricky business of classifying children." [21]

With the advent of compulsory mass school attendance, the school was becoming a place for the implementation of various child-oriented public health programs and measures. White speaks of laws passed in the 1890s requiring playgrounds and physical education, as well as health screening and preventive programs (and "The many enlargements of health and hygiene-realted agencies brought forth journals, societies and the

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creation of child health specialties....a Pediatric section of the American Medical Associationwas established in 1880").[22]

Such measures ,activities and regulations bespoke a new conception of the responsibility of society (through the meduium of the school, in this case) for its children, and of the need on the part of a growing legion of child-centered professionals to be sensitive and alert to what were now considered to be the special symptoms, characteristics and needs of children.

Finally, the experienced need for a science of child study -- for a system of empirically-grounded certaintity with the aid of which caretakers would be assured they were raising chidren who were both moral and happy -- was voiced with increasing urgency by middle-class parents as well. On one hand, there was the already-noted reverence of "science" and optimism about its potential to solve social and health problems; also there was the general uncertainty about spritual and ethical essences and values, engendered both by the ideological/social/economic changes of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and by the Darwinian revolution and its various ideological consequences and concomitants. With the growth, after the Civil War and especially after the late 1880s, of all the professions and institutions and laws designed to "protect" children and the state of "childhood" -- even from parents themselves, if need be -- middle-class parents were given new sources of uncertainty and potential anxiety. If childhood was being re-created and re-defined, then parenthood was as well: "Parents...wanted ideas about the possibilities and limits of their efficacy and respnsibility....[23] their lives were changing as parents, becoming more complicated... they were being placed on strange new ground where they were uncertain about the proper rules, procedures and values."[24]

> Tens of thousands of adults had jobs that involved them in child care, protection, training and rehabilitation. Parenting in a society full of the new institutions and people simply could not be the same.

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> Descriptions of the generic or the average might help them to judge when something they were faced with was or was not a 'problem'....Beyond their need for information about potential or actual problems, parents wanted some kind of understanding of their situation as parents. Sharing their work with the teacher, the pediatrician, perhpas the social worker or school counselor, they wanted to know what the other's work was and how their own owrk might connect with it.[26]

It was in the service of all these interconnected social conditions and concerns that "Child Study greatly fostered the growth of the 'typical child' and the 'average child,' mythical creatures of great usefulness in representing the conditions and possibilities of large numbers of children:

> The child study movement came at a time when many local institutions and services for children had been built across the United States and now a second wave of national political organization and professionalization was beginning. The second wave required cooperation among widely separated people. To link them together, articulated representations of facts, conceptions and values about childhood had to be established. There had to be some community of belief with respect to some basic issues....Child study arose to provide a basic stock of propositions and themes of this social construction of reality...to present the symbolic raw materials for articulate public debate about issues of childhood.[27]

5. The Child Study Movement

Various individuals in Europe and America -- mostly physicians and educators -- were beginning to observe and record the development of infants and young children (usually their own) during the last quarter of the eighteenth, and first three quarters of the nineteenth, centuries.

> Following Tiedemann (1787) there seems to be a gap of forty-one years during which we have no record of any publication relating to normal child behavior....Between 1830 and 1860 there were seven publications....(A) sharp increase in publication occurred during the 1870s, the total number during that decade being seventeen. During the years 1880 and 1881 alone, twelve titles (appeared)....[28]

Among the early baby-biographers were Pestalozzi, Darwin (who kept a journal of his infant son's development in 1840 but didn't publish it until 1877), and the Frenchmen Taine (1877) and Bernard Perez (1878).

In 1881, the biologist Wilhelm Preyer published Die Seele des Kindes (The Mind of the Child). Wayne Dennis asserts that the publication of this book, along with G. Stanley Hall's study, "The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School," in 1883 (to be discussed below), marked the beginning of "scientific child psychology:"

> Preyer's account of mental development in the first four years was based upon careful and detailed observations of his son, to which were added data contributed by others and some comparative facts concerning behavioral development in animals.[29]

In addition to studies which "consisted of observations of the first few years of life...not directly tied to educational application,"[30] there were also -- as has been noted in Section 1 -- European romantic ideas about child development and education which had begun to stream into American pedagogical thinking by the 1880s. Along with the Rousseau-Pestalozzi-Froebel stream, "Herbartian educational ideas were rising to prominence" in[31] Europe while G. Stanley Hall was studying there. Other pedegogically-related research which Hall was trying to emulate and improve on in his 1883 study included some studies done "as early as 1869 and 1874"

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in which "German school officials had conducted questionnaire studies of their pupils' knowledge." In England, the psychologist James Sully, "who would become a major figure in the movement, published his first brief studies of imagination and language in the child in 1880 and 1884." [32]

And in America:

> in 1881, apparently without contact with Hall, the Boston secretary of the education section of the American Social Science Association published a circular on the observation of infants. Speaking for 'some educators' who were roused by recent scientific studies of animal psychology to wonder why the mind of the child did not deserve equal attention, she asked mothers or other interested observers to record such facts as the infant's first attention to stimuli, crawling, walking and speech. [33]

Ross cites this and various other incidents occuring about 1880 to demonstrate that "the ideas behind child study...were in the air. It required only a charismatic leader to find it a popular base of support and give it programmatic appeal." [34]

G. Stanley Hall was born in Massachusetts in 1844 (he died in 1924).

> He had been William James's student and Harvard's first Ph.D. in psychology. He had been the first American to visit Wundt's first Leipzig laboratory. At Johns Hopkins he established what was arguably the first American research laboratory in experiemntal psychology. He founded and edited America's first psychological journal, the <u>American Journal of Psychology</u> in 1887. He brought together the group that founded the American Psychological Association in 1892. [35]

Hall's "studies on children began as early as 1880 and the first objective evidence of them was published in" an article in the <u>Princeton Review</u>, mentioned above, entitled "The Contents of Children's Minds..." (1883).

> His report was worked out on the basis of a questionnaire which aimed to inventory the contents of the minds of children who were entering the primary schools of Boston....As a result of this investigation, Hall concluded that there was scarcely anything of pedagogic value whose knowledge might be assumed at the beginning of school life.
>
> Immediately Hall and his students designed and used questionnaires of a similar sort. These were circulated to parents and teachers throughout the country. [36]

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> Hall's first call for child study came in a speech to the superintendants of the NEA [National Education Association] in the spring of 1882, when he proposed it as the core of a new profession of pedagogy. "It is the fundamental law of mental development, as well of action and assimilation, that must be made the basis of methods of teaching, topics chosen and their order."....Hall thought he had in child study a means for regularly achieving...enthusiasm and sensitivity in...the teacher. [37]

Ross asserts that "the idea -- to base education on a scientific study of child development -- was an inevitable extension of the romantic decree to follow the child's nature in an age of evolutionary science, but Hall was probably the first person, scientist or educator, to make the extension in any sustained way."[38](Ross also notes, however, that "Like the more orthodox American educators before him, Hall always took it for granted that impulses potentially dangerous to civilization whould be directed, fenced and shaped to presentable forms").[39]

After this beginning, however,

> Hall's efforts to launch the child study movement in the early 1880s...came to rest after 1885 on his pursuit of an academic career in science....Though far from insensitive to the popular success he could achieve in the field, Hall much preferred a career in scientific psychology.... [But] while Hall turned to other pursuits, the idea of child study continued to take hold, When he returned to the movement in the 1890s, it and he were ready to attempt a full-scale reorientation of education toward the natural pattern of development of the child. [40]

Independently of Hall's work, a group of mothers began to meet in New York City in 1888, "at the suggestion of Felix Adler, the founder of the Ethical Culture Movement...'to discuss questions of interest in the education of children:'

> By 1890, what had been a small group...had expanded to a membweship of thrity-five....(T)hey were predominantly German-Jewish in background and from the upper-middle class. In the autumn of 1890, "The Society for the Study of Child Nature" was adopted as an official name.
>
> During the 1890s the members did intensive reading in Rousseau, Stanley Hall, Preyer, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Ueffelman, Locke,

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> Felix Adler and many other authorities. They also subscribed to magazines and kept journals of observation on their child's development....[41]

Meanwhile, Hall had been made the first President of Clark University in 1888, and it has been suggested that he "returned to child study in the early 1890s, probably becasue he wanted to use public interest in child study to bring support for his university."[42] In 1891 he began publishing his journal, the Pedagogical Seminary:

> In Volume 1, Number 1 of the journal Hall began with a brief editorial describing what he hoped to be his audiences: (1)"prominent laymen"; (2) college and university presidents and school superintendents; (3) professors of pedagogy, principals, and teachers in normal schools; and (4) the Education Department of Clark University.[43]
>
> The central empirical enterprise of the child study movement involved the topical syllabi -- questionnaires on selected topics addressed either to children or to caretakers and teachers. These topical syllabi were leaflets of from one to four pages each privately printed at Worcester. A total of at least 194 were developed at Clark between 1894 and 1915. Judging from their titles these sets of questions were directed at (1) characteristic thoughts and behavior of young children; (2) children's ethical and religious impulses; (3) problems of childhood, ranging from the disciplinary to the psychiatric; (4) children's responses to school settings and activities; and (5) professional concerns of educators. Most of the time, one gathers, these questionnaires were mailed out to respondents who filled them out and returned them.[44]

Syllabi were developed by other academics at other universities also, and other educational journals which commenced publication during this decade were the Child Study Monthly, edited by William O. Krohn at the University of Illinois, and two journals representing different "visions" of educational psychology: Nicholas Murray Butler's Educational Review (Teachers College, Columbia) and the more social-psychology-oriented School Review published at the University of Chicago. (These latter two were not really part of Hall's Child Study movement but can be seen as part of the general trend toward a scientific pedagogy and interest in development).

Earl Barnes, Professor of Education at Stanford, was a follower of

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Hall who, more than the latter, "saw formal, quantitative child study as the cornerstone of a scientific pedagogy."[45]

> In 1896-97, Barnes edited 10 numbers of a journal, Studies in Education....In the ninth number, entitled "The Child as a Social Factor," he said that childhood and children are important for human civilization and social progress. In the last number her said, "Any one who has read these Studies carefully must feel they deal with phenomena that fall within the range of law.[46]

In 1893, at the Chicago World's Fair, "Hall expressed his renewed interest in child study expansively in a speech....He said "Hitherto we have gone to Europe for our psychology, let us now take a child and place him in our midst and let America make her own psychology.' "[47] And in fact, one of the first British Child Study groups, The British Child Study Association, was founded in 1894 "as a direct result of contact between a group of British lady teachers and Stanley Hall....during the World Fair." In England, early work bearing on child development had been done by Galton, and the psychologist Sully and the Scottish physician Drummond were among those doing investigations on children during the 1890s -- much of this work having been motivated by the "shocking condition of many of the children herded into the new 'Board Schools' of the 1880s"--[48] but in general, it was "only in America" that the child study movement had "a widespread popular appeal."[49] Nevertheless, "societies were founded in Poland in 1897, Germany in 1899, and France in 1901....In addition, ... periodicals were published" in England, France and Germany.[50]

But, while in 1890s America "there developed a great diversity of effort along child study lines" under the influence of Hall's studies and promotional efforts, the Movement itself had come under sharp criticism from academic psychologists by the last years of that decade and, by the turn of the century, was in decline:

> Although widely acclaimed by educational reformers, women's clubs, school teachers, parents and religious educators --

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> and, because of his emphasis on children's health, by physicians and public health workers -- Hall's fellow psychologists were less enthusiastic, and the outraged dissent of some of them helped to sow the seeds for the disbanding of the movement.51

Leading figures in academic psychology/philosophy such as Munsterberg, James, Dewey, Thorndike and Baldwin, each from his own perspective, had reservations and objections, among which included criticisms of the sloppiness of Hall's methods and his inclination to make generalizations on the basis of insufficient data. Especially irksome to some scientists was the fact that the questionnaires and observations which constituted the chief methods of Hall's research were not administered by "trained specialists" but rather by caretakers (mothers, teachers) themselves. Another area of criticism concerned Hall's "recapitulation" theory of development -- he "advanced the idea that...the natural stages of children's growth... recapitulated the history of the race."[52] After the demise of the Child Study Effort, Hall went on to "invent" Adolescence and, during the last years of his life, to investigate the psychology of religious phenomena.

Nevertheless -- if it is contended by historians of developmental psychology that "Hall has no descendants -- only heirs"[53] -- it does seem clear that the ideological trends and stimuli which led to the birth of Child Study also have been inherited by the more sophisticated and "scientific" institutions and systems and movements which have emerged during the twentieth century. Up to the present era, the importance of studying childhood as a means of fostering individual development so as to ensure social harmony and the progress of civilization has been a dominant theme -- not least of all in the organismic-developmental models of Werner/Piaget/Kohlberg et al., whose theories of child development have figured so prominently in educational practice since the 1960s.

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Footnotes

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